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Center For Demography And Ecology
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BREAKING TRADITION:

SCHOOLING, MARRIAGE, WORK, AND CHILDREARING

IN THE LIVES OF YOUNG WOMEN, 1960-1980

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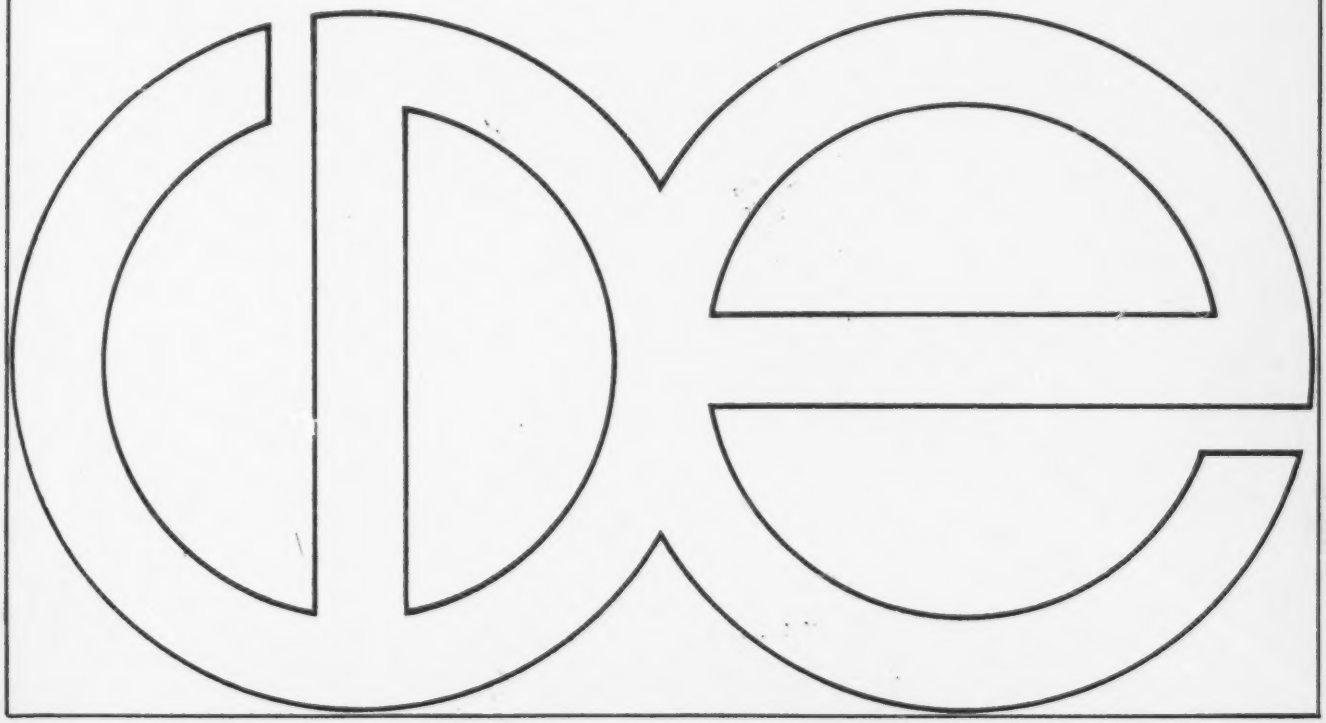

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BREAKING TRADITION:
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This paper describes changes over the past two decades in the ways in which American women are spending their young adult years. The analysis is motivated by a number of streams of theory and research on the experience of young adults.

Sociologists have stressed the significance of early work and educational experience on sex role attitudes and "self-image." Traditionally, the usual, and presumably the normatively prescribed, pattern for women involved completion of education, marriage, and childbearing. Employment was appropriate between completion of education and marriage, and perhaps between marriage and the birth of the first child. The mothers of the baby boom cohorts, at least, tended to marry immediately after the completion of their education, and tended to have a birth immediately after marriage. Work outside the home by mothers of preschool-age children, and even those with children in grade school, was not appropriate. Mason (1974), Spitze (1978) and others argue that women who gain work experience prior to marriage and prior to the birth of the first child develop a different view of work and a different set of sex role attitudes. Spitze (1978:471) notes "While these attitudes may be formed before and during high school and heavily influenced by the family of origin, there is some evidence that they are not immutable, and that experiences right after high school may alter them."

Economists regard education, training, and work experience as investments in human capital that will increase future productivity and wages. A woman's future wage rate will in turn influence the opportunity cost of future childbearing. A number of analysts (for example, Mincer and Polachek (1974), Polachek (1975), and Sandell and Shapiro (1978)) have examined the extent to which variations in earnings among women and

between women and men are due to differences in work experiences associated with childbearing.

Another research tradition within sociology and social demography examines the transition to adulthood. Much of the work in this area involves the statistical modeling of the process or of parts of the process of becoming an adult. For example, Marini (1978) examines sex differences in the determinants of age at marriage and educational attainment. Elder and Rockwell (1976) study the effects of the timing of marriage on the subsequent life course of a cohort (born in 1925-29) of American women (see also Rindfuss, Bumpass, and St. John (1980), where focus shifts from age at first marriage to age at first birth.) Each of these studies looked at the interconnections among events in various spheres of young adult life for a single cohort.

There has also been investigation of change in the process of becoming an adult. Following a suggestion of Elder (1975), Hogan (1980) examined the effect of ordering of life cycle transitions (completion of education, first full time job, and marriage) on subsequent occupational achievement. In the course of this analysis and in an earlier study (Hogan 1978), intercohort variation in the sequencing of these transitions is described. In a somewhat similar vein, Winsborough (1978) described intercohort trends in the transition to adulthood of American men, using retrospectively collected data on life cycle transitions. He showed that more recent cohorts (born in the 1930s and 1940s) complete the transition from "schoolboy to adult male" much more quickly than cohorts born earlier in the century.

The transition to adulthood is a many-faceted process extending, for many individuals, over a period of several years from the late teens through the mid to late 20s. While the precise meaning of "reaching full adulthood" is ambiguous, and while there is variation across individuals in what the status of "adult" involves, it is clear that there are several components. Full adulthood tends to involve the completion of education, the establishment of a residence apart from parents, becoming a spouse, becoming a parent, and establishing oneself in a niche within the labor market. These "young adult years" are a period of rapid status change. Between ages 18 and 29 most men and women in American society complete their education. Most first marriages and first births also occur before age 30. Most men and women spend the majority of this age interval as members of the labor force. There is a high intensity of job shift and occupational change as individuals establish themselves in jobs appropriate to their interests, training, abilities and other personal attributes. Thus, the four processes of completing one's education, becoming married, establishing a family unit and settling down in a particular occupational niche are closely associated with one another in time.

The young adult experience has not been static in recent years. The last two decades have, in fact, witnessed fundamental changes in the lives of young adults, and particularly of young women. Figures 1-4 show the proportion never married, the proportion childless, the proportion enrolled in school, and the proportion working, by age for 1960, 1970, and 1980. The probabilities that a nonHispanic white woman is in any one of these statuses have risen markedly at every age within the range 18-29 since 1960.

This paper will document the ways in which young American women are "organizing" their lives differently than previous cohorts did. By "changes in the ways women are organizing their lives" we mean several different things:

1) changes in the amount of time members of successive cohorts spend in particular statuses

2) changes in the timing of status transitions--for example, successive cohorts may marry later, complete their education later, or bear their children later;

3) changes in the conditional relationships between different statuses--for example, what kind of changes have there been in the probabilities of attending college while married, of having children while never married, or of working while attending college? Is the occupancy of these statuses more or less independent than in the past?

The analyses in this paper speak to changes of type (1) and (3). The data used here do not permit the analysis of changing timing of status transitions, except indirectly as they affect time spent in particular states.

One way to index these changing activities of young adults, and the changing interrelationships among such activities, is to examine how successive cohorts allocate their time among them. One cohort, for instance, may spend more of its adult years in an unmarried status and more of its years attending school. Changing interrelationships among statuses may then be observed. As an example, we would find that marriage and school enrollment were becoming less "incompatible" activities if (1) a larger number of years (per cohort member) were spent simultaneously married and attending school, or (2) a higher fraction of school years

were spent married, or (3) a higher fraction of married years were spent enrolled in school.

Data and Methods

Ideally, to investigate these trends we would want to have complete life histories for several cohorts of women up to around age 30. Unfortunately, we do not have such life histories and are therefore forced to rely on cross-sectional data from successive points in time. Specifically, the data we are using here come from the Public Use Samples of the 1960, 1970 and 1980 decennial censuses of the United States.

The approach which we take in this analysis is to treat the three successive cross sections by single year of age as synthetic cohorts. Following a simplified "life table" procedure,* we then compare the experience of these synthetic cohorts as they live their lives following the age functions extant at a given point in time.

We will estimate the allocation of time for women aged 18-29 among four logically independent status dimensions: ever married or not; with own children or not; enrolled in school or not; and and working or not. Within this age range, we then asked, "How many person years per cohort member were spent in each of these statuses and combination of statuses?." We are aware of the shortcomings of this approach (particularly in a period of rapid change) and, thus, would not propose that these estimates be used to represent the experience of any real cohort. Instead, these estimates pertain to the experience of young women at these three specific

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*Mortality is assumed to be zero. The age distribution is therefore rectangular. The age specific proportions of women in a specific status are summed over the twelve years of age from 18 to 29.

points in time.

Because educational level has such important influences on the way in which women organize their lives, and because the education composition of the population has changed so much in recent years, we performed our analysis of statuses and status changes within educational levels, as well as for the population as a whole. For these purposes, we used a three-fold educational classification: women with less than 12 years of education, women with exactly 12 years of education completed, and women with more than 12 years of education.*

Because the patterns and trends are so different for minority women, especially blacks, we confine the analysis reported here to nonHispanic white women. Later papers will discuss these patterns for blacks and other groups.

In Table 1, we show the allocation of the twelve person years from age 18 to age 29 into the sixteen status combinations defined by the cross-classification of our four binary characteristics: married, enrolled, employed, and with own children.

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*There is a problem with subdividing by education dealing with an age range in which persons are continuing to add to their education. We have tried to minimize this problem by using a three-fold education classification: less than 12 years, 12 years, and more than 12 years. When a woman was enrolled in grade 12, but had not yet completed it at the time of enumeration, she was assigned to the 12 category. Similarly, when a woman was enrolled in grade 13, but had not yet completed that grade, she was assigned to the greater than 12 category. This is because the decennial censuses are conducted in April at a point very near the end of the school year. In each case, the reference period for the school enrollment question was from February 1 to the date of enumeration. Thus, it was reasonable to expect that most women enrolled in grade 12 or 13 at the time of enumeration would go on to complete it. The errors involved in using this classification in the synthetic cohort analysis result from: at age 18 some enrolled persons who will complete high school are not yet in grade 12; some persons who will later complete high school are not currently enrolled at all; and some high school graduates who will attend college were not currently enrolled in college. In each case the experience of such persons is assigned to what will ultimately prove to be a lower education category. We do not think that this is a serious bias or one that has become more (or less) serious over time.

The entries in the cells of this table and subsequent tables are in units of person years. Thus, for example, if we look at the "total" panel of the table, the 1960 entry in the first row is .42 (third column from the right). This means that women in 1960 spent .42 person years in the status never married, childless, employed, enrolled. That is, they were simultaneously single, without own children, enrolled in school, and working. The remaining fifteen rows allocate the entire 12-year age interval between age 18 and age 29 into the other combinations of statuses. Thus, in 1960, white women spent an average of 1.65 years single, childless, employed, and not enrolled. They spent 5.41 years ever married, with children, not working, and not enrolled. And so on. Each column of the table sums to 12 person years.

The entries in the cells within columns of the table can be summed to determine the amount of time spent in the various basic statuses. For example, if we sum the first eight entries in the 1960, total column:

Never Married, Childless	
Employed, Enrolled	.42
Employed, Not Enrolled	1.65
Not Employed, Enrolled	.70
Not Employed, Not Enrolled	.41
Never Married, With Children	
Employed, Enrolled	.00
Employed, Not Enrolled	.01
Not Employed, Enrolled	.00
Not Employed, Not Enrolled	.00
Total	3.19

we see that in 1960 women spent an average of 3.19 person years single.

Further, we can calculate the proportion of that single time spent working--essentially an employment rate. For this same group this rate would be:

$$\frac{.42 + 1.65 + .00 + .01}{3.19} = 65.2\%$$

Thus, 65.2% of the person years spent single were also spent working.

The balance of this paper will use variants of these simple techniques to decode the trends implicit in the data in Table 1. All data in the tables which follow are derived directly from Table 1.

THE DECLINE OF TRADITIONAL STATUSES

As a way of overviewing the changes in the lives of young women, consider the data in Table 1 in relation to "traditional" or "non-traditional" roles. There has been a precipitous decline in the years spent in the most traditional combination of women's statuses: that is, married with children and neither enrolled nor employed. This status consumed almost half of young women's time (5.41 years) in 1960, but, by 1980, this had dropped over three years to only 2.32. This surely represents a dramatic change in the way young women in this country are organizing their lives--a shift away from "tradition".

This point may be elaborated by referring to the traditional sequencing of young women's roles in life. The typical young woman was supposed to complete her education while single, then marry and bear children. Work was considered appropriate for single women after the completion of their education and prior to marriage, and perhaps after marriage, but prior to the birth of the first child.

In terms of the categories in Table 1, the traditional* combinations of statuses include:

2	Single (Childless), Not Enrolled, Not Employed
3	Single (Childless), Enrolled, Not Employed
4	Single (Childless) Not Enrolled, Employed
12,16	Married, Not Employed, Not Enrolled

The combinations of statuses which are clearly non-traditional include:

5,6,7,8	Never Married Women with Children
9,11,13,15	Ever Married Women who are Enrolled
14	Ever Married Women with Children who are Working (not enrolled)

Two combinations of statuses may be considered intermediate (or, perhaps, indeterminate) on the traditional to modern continuum:

(1)	Single, Employed, Enrolled (Childless)
(10)	Married, Childless, Working (Not Enrolled)

Using this illustrative classification system we can now examine the extent to which there has been a shift from traditional to nontraditional combinations of statuses (Table 2). In 1960, 74 percent of the time

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*Note that the "married" category really is ever-married, and includes some separated and divorced experience, which might properly be included as nontraditional. This has little effect on the results because most of the time of separated or divorced women is spent working.

between ages 18 and 29 was spent in traditional statuses. By 1970 it was 66 percent and by 1980, 55 percent. There was a considerable increase in nontraditional roles, but an even larger increase in the intermediate statuses. Clearly, what we are witnessing is a dramatic decline in the amount of time young white women are devoting to traditional modes of living and an equally dramatic increase in time spent in non-traditional modes.

Further light may be shed on this phenomenon by looking at Table 3, which breaks down shifts in traditional/non-traditional statuses by educational group. It is apparent that the changes we are discussing have differentially affected these groups, with the high school dropouts experiencing the least decline in traditional statuses and the college educated the most. A major theme of our analysis is that the shift away from tradition cannot be understood without taking the differences among educational groups into account.

We now turn to a detailed discussion of these shifts, utilizing a series of tables based on the data presented in Table 1. Initially, we will deal with the basic changes in each sphere of the lives of young women: changes in time spent single, time spent childless, time spent working, and time spent enrolled. This discussion will necessarily be descriptive, detailing the basic contours of the changes that have taken place. We will be focusing on changes in the amount of time spent in these statuses (overall and by educational group) and education differentials in the amount of change that has taken place.

We will then decompose some of these basic changes by marital and/or family status in order to reveal more of these interconnections. Following this, we will conclude our discussion of the data with a consideration of the changing relationship between time spent enrolled and time spent working.

TIME SPENT SINGLE

The data on years spent single are presented in Table 4. These data may be summarized in the following manner:

(1) In 1960, women spent an average of 3.2 years single between ages 18 and 29. By 1970, the number of years single had increased to 3.8 and in 1980 the corresponding number had jumped to over 5 years. Thus, the amount of time young women are spending in the never married state increased quite a lot in this two decade period, with a particularly sharp rise in the 1970-1980 interval.

(2) The number of years single generally increases with educational attainment, from (for 1980) a low of 2.8 years for high school dropouts to a high of 6.5 years for college graduates. The amount of time spent single also increased more the greater the level of education--by 0.6 years for high school dropouts, 0.9 years for high school graduates, and 1.25 years for college-educated women. Thus, an already-existing education differential in years spent single has expanded.

(3) Educational upgrading contributed to the aggregate increase in years spent single. Note that the increase in the number of years spent single was larger for the total (1.82 years between 1960 and 1980 than for any of the component education groups. This was because, by 1980, a much larger fraction of 18-29 year old women are in the highest education group which spends more of its time single. A smaller share have not completed

high school. Thus, not only is there differential change by education, but also the aggregate experience is greatly affected by changing educational composition.

TIME SPENT CHILDLESS

The data on years spent childless are presented in Table 5. We summarize these data in the following manner:

(1) Young women in 1960 spent an average of 5.14 years childless. By 1970, this had increased almost a full year to 6.12 and, by 1980, had jumped to 7.6 years. Thus, because of delayed marriage and delay of childbearing within marriage, the trend is clearly and dramatically toward more childless years for American women.

(2) There were wide differences among education groups in the number of person years spent childless. Further, these differences have tended to increase in the two-decade period. For example, the number of person years in the childless state among women who did not complete high school changed rather slowly in this period, rising from 3.57 in 1960 to 4.34 in 1980, an increase of 0.8 years. The trend was sharper for high school graduates who did not attend college, going from 5.08 years in 1960, to 5.48 in 1970, and then up a full year to 6.53 in 1980, for a total increase of 1.4 years. College-educated women experienced a 2.2 year increase in their childless time during the twenty year time span.

(3) Again, as with the person years spent single, we observe an accentuated education differential as a result of the trends between 1960 and 1980, and again because of educational upgrading the trend was more dramatic for the total population than for any education group.

TIME SPENT WORKING

Data on years spent working are presented in Table 6, and indicate the following:

(1) In 1960, women spent an average of 4.6 person years employed between age 18 and age 29. This increased by about 1.1 years by 1970, and by almost 2 additional years to 7.5 in 1980.

(2) The higher the level of education, the greater the number of years spent working. However, because of the larger number of years spent enrolled in school (during which employment rates are lower), the difference between high school graduates and college-educated women was not as large as that between those who did not complete high school and high school graduates.

(3) The increase in years spent working was greater, the greater the level of education. The result of this is an increase in the education differential, just as we observed for years single and years childless, and again, because of changing education composition, the increase for the total population was greater than the increase for any of the component parts.

TIME SPENT IN SCHOOL

The last of the basic changes to be presented here concerns time spent in school. These data are presented in Table 7.

There was a steady upward trend in the number of person years spent enrolled* in the two-decade period. In 1960, women spent an average of 1.4 person years enrolled in school. This increased to 1.9 years in 1970 and to 2.6 years in 1980.

Turning to the college-educated, in particular, in 1960 and 1970 these women spent roughly the same amount of person years enrolled—about 4 years. From 1970 to 1980, however, there was a sharp increase to almost 5 years. (Note that this does not necessarily imply 5 years of full-time enrollment. It was rather 5 years in which the woman was enrolled either part- or full-time.)

CHANGING RELATIONSHIPS AMONG STATUSES

Thus far we have described the changes in the experience of young women within four life-domains. The general trend has been toward more time spent in the "non-traditional" side of the four status dichotomies:

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*The enrollment question in the decennial censuses attempts to measure enrollment in "regular school" and explicitly excludes enrollment in business or trade schools. For example, in the 1980 census the question read "Since February 1, 1980 has this person attended regular school or college at any time. Count nursery school, kindergarten, elementary school and schooling which leads to a high school diploma or college degree." The person is then asked highest grade attended, and after specifying a grade of school or year of college, is asked if he or she is "now attending this grade (or year)."

In interpreting Table 5, it should be kept in mind that the figures shown for women with 12 or less than 12 years of education represent years spent enrolled in high school. For the 12-year education group, then, this would be as seniors in high school and for the less-than-12-year group it would be enrollment in grades below the 12 level. A closer examination of age patterns reveals that a large portion of this enrollment occurs at ages 18 and 19 (data not shown). When discussing enrollment trends in this paper we will focus on years of enrollment in college by persons we classify as having had some college experience.

never married/ever married; childless/with children; working/not working; enrolled/not enrolled. In each case educational upgrading contributed to the aggregate trend. Each trend also involves a growing education differential in the amount of time spent in these non-traditional statuses, with less educated women falling farther "behind" their more educated counterparts.

Our focus now shifts to an examination of how the relationships among these four statuses have changed over time, and how these changing relationships among statuses is differentiated by education level. The analysis begins by examining the changing distribution of childless time by marital status. We then show how the increase in employment experience is distributed by marital and family status. Finally, we decompose the rise in enrollment by marital and child status and also examine the changing relationship between enrollment and employment.

Changing Distribution of Childless Time

The amount of time spent childless has increased both because women spend more time single and because women increasingly delay (or forgo entirely) having a first birth after marriage. Table 6 decomposes the increase in childless time into two components--childless time before marriage, and childless time following marriage*. (While there has been an increase in the amount of single time that nonHispanic white women spend with children, it remains very small--.15 person years, or 3 percent of all single time in 1980.)

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*This is not intended as a measure of marital childspacing. Because the experience is truncated at age 30, the childspacing of persons who marry late and marry earlier and delay their first birth beyond age 30 is unrepresented.

There was a large increase in childless time associated with the increased time spent single in both decades. In the 1960s this was mostly due to educational upgrading--the education-specific changes were small. During the 1970s there was a large increase both for high school graduates and college-educated women. The increase in childless married time was smaller in both decades than the increase in childless single time. Only in the 1960s for college-educated women was there very much of a change at all—an increased six-tenths of a year.

Changing Distribution of Time Spent Working

In this section we examine the components of change in time spent working by marital/family status. The top panel of Table 9 refers to the experience of never-married women, the middle panel to married, childless women, and the bottom panel to married women with children. The table is also divided vertically into two segments. The first three columns show the number of years spent working, and the last three columns show the percent of time in the particular marital/family status that is spent working. This is similar to an employment rate.*

In 1980, women spent an average of 1.4 more years single and working than was the case in 1960 (3.5 years in 1980 vs. 2.1 years in 1960). Most of this increase occurred between 1970 and 1980, there being little change for any education group between 1960 and 1970. And, again, repeating a

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*Note that this employment rate controls on age by assuming a rectangular age distribution for each education group in each year. Given that marriage and reproductive patterns are changing and also differ among education groups, it does not control on ages of children, a characteristic which has a large effect on employment.

phenomenon we have seen before, the largest post-1970 employment increase was experienced by college-educated women.

Looking next at married childless time, in 1960, only about 59 percent of this time was spent employed. However, by 1970, this had increased to 67 percent and by 1980 to 79 percent. Again, this increase in this employment rate was greatest for the college-educated (17 points) and lowest for the high school dropouts (10 points). And, again, more of the increase occurred during the 1970s than during the 1960s.

Interestingly enough, the most rapid increase in employment occurred for married women with children. In 1960, only about 20% of the years with children were spent working. But, this increased to 29% in 1970 and to 44% in 1980, over twice the rate in 1960. Following a by-now familiar pattern, this increase was smallest for women who did not complete high school and largest for college-educated women.

Despite the sharp increase in the rate of employment, however, there was only a relatively modest increase from 1.34 to 1.87 in years spent married with children and working for the total population in the two decade period. Changes in the amount of work time with children present is the resultant of three different trends, two of which actually tended to <u>depress</u> the number of years spent working with children. First, educational upgrading had a tendency to diminish the number of years spent in this status, since women with less education typically spend more time with children and working (in this age range) than do women with more education. Second, there was a substantial decline in fertility which resulted in a reduction in the number of years spent with children. This produced an additional downward pressure on the number of years spent both with children and working. However, these effects of educational

upgrading and fertility decline were more than counter-balanced by the dramatic, across-the-board increases in the rates at which women with children have been working (which we have just been discussing). The resultant, then, of these three conflicting forces produced the somewhat modest increases in the time spent working with children present (about a year for the high school dropouts and graduates and about a third of a year for the college-educated).

Components of Growth in Time Spent Working. Table 10 summarizes the components of increase in employment by family status for each education group. The first two panels show the components of change during each decade, while the bottom panel refers to the entire twenty-year period. By 1980, women were working 2.9 more years between 18 and 29 than in 1960. About one-third of this increase in work time was time spent after marriage while children were present, and a little over one-sixth after marriage while childless. The relative size of these components, however, was very different at different educational levels. Among the college-educated, for instance, more than half of the increased work experience was while single, while, for women with less education it was much less. On the other hand, while three-fifths of the increased work experience of high school dropouts and two-fifths for high school graduates was after marriage, with children, only one-tenth of this increase for the college-educated occurred in this state. These components of this increase were quite different in the two time periods under consideration.. During the 1960s, changes were concentrated primarily in the married, childless state (and the married with children state for high school graduates). During the 1970s, on the other hand, the preponderance of the increase for each education group, but

particularly for the college-educated, was while single. Again, this is a pattern we have observed before, with the 1970s being a period of very rapid change, particularly for the college-educated.

Changes in the Distribution of School Enrollment

Finally, we turn to a brief discussion of the changes in enrollment patterns. First, we will take a look at these changes broken down by marital/family status. Then, we will relate these changes to the increased work experience of young women in those two decades.

As we discussed earlier, most of the school enrollment between ages 18 and 29 is enrollment in college--i.e., by persons who have completed at least 12 years of education. For this reason, the discussion in this section will be confined to persons with at least 12 years of education.

College-educated women experienced a growth of .99 years of schooling while single during the two-decade period, over 80% of that increase occurring in the 1970s. The percent of single time spent enrolled, however, (second panel of table 9, right side) did not change at all. Thus, the aggregate enrollment increase occurred entirely because there were more single years. There was also a growth of .3 years of enrollment while married and childless. This occurred both because of an increase in the number of married, childless years, especially during the 1960s, and because of an increase in the enrollment rate, especially during the 1970s.

Finally, there was only a .14 year increase in married years with children spent enrolled. This increase of enrollment while married and with children was the resultant of two countervailing forces: (1) Women spent fewer years married with children (for college-educated women there was a decrease from 4.8 years in 1960 to 4.0 years in 1970 to 2.6 years in

1980), and (2) the rate of enrollment during married years with children present increased from 4% in 1960 to 6% in 1970, and to 13% in 1980.

Summing up, then, two-thirds of the enrollment increase over the entire period occurred while single, one-quarter while married and childless, and only about one-tenth while married and with children. Breaking this down by decades, during the 1960s half of the increase occurred while single and over one-third while married and childless, while during the 1970s, three-quarters of the increased enrollment occurred with single women, and most of the remainder occurred while women were married, but without children.

Working and Going to School. Next we look at the intersection between increased enrollment and work experience. To explore this intersection, we first note that there was an increase in childless time of 2.5 years in the aggregate and 2.2 years for college-educated women. All of this increase in childless time (single and married combined) was spent working. Among the college-educated, the increase in childless years from 1960 to 1980 was distributed:

Working	+2.39 years
Not Working	- .19 years
Total Increase in Childless Years	2.21 years

A large share of the increase in childless years were also spent going to school. Again, for the college-educated:

Enrolled	1.30 years
Not Enrolled	.91 years
Total Increase in Childless Years	2.21

Thus, women spent all of their increase in childless time working and, at the same time, they spent nearly three-fifths of their increase in childless time enrolled in school. The explanation for this "paradox," of course, is that, although employment rates are lower among women enrolled in school, being enrolled in school and being employed are not mutually exclusive. In fact, the majority of years spent enrolled in school are also spent working.

There are two ways to think about this joint experience of working and going to school. We can ask, "what is the employment rate of persons who are enrolled?" Alternatively, we can ask, "What fraction of the years spent working involve employment while going to school?" Data in Table 10 answer both of these questions for each of the three time points.

Answering the first question, the employment rate of enrolled women increased very rapidly during the period, particularly during the 1970s. By 1980, in fact, over 55% of the time spent enrolled in college was also spent working, up from 33 percent in 1960. This fact is already well-known.

The answer to the second question is more surprising. In 1980, a larger share of working years were spent enrolled in school than in 1970. The data in the lower panel of Table 12 show that, during the 1970s, the

fraction of working years spent enrolled increased from 13% to 19% for all women, and from 25% to 34% for the college-educated. This does not necessarily follow from the fact that more years were spent enrolled, and that more of the enrolled years were spent working, since the number of working years not enrolled could have increased even faster than those spent enrolled.

This may be further illustrated by looking at Table 13. This table shows that a significant share of the increase in years working was time spent working while enrolled. For the college-educated, for instance, between 1960 and 1980, there was an increase in employment of 2.69 years. Of that, about one-third was increased employment while enrolled. And, during the 1970s, nearly three-fifths of this increase in employment among the college-educated occurred while enrolled.

In order to understand the significance of this increase in the share of employed years spent enrolled, it is necessary to consider the question "what is the nature of the working while enrolled?" We have not been able to investigate this question with the data, but, at this point, we can pinpoint at least three major types* of work experience involved:

(1) Many college students are employed in routine, relatively low-skill jobs to help pay for their education--food service workers, clerks in stores, office work, etc. Other than perhaps learning good work

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*There are other categories of working students, such as persons who are going to school in order to change or upgrade their occupation, and persons who enroll in school simply to learn more about something they are interested in, but we suspect that these are less common.

habits, this sort of work is probably not contributing much to future productivity.

(2) Other college students (both undergraduate and graduate) are doing work related to their anticipated future profession--lab assistants, research assistants, etc. This is often very useful experience should generally raise future productivity.

(3) Also included among the working students are persons who are continuing their education while employed in a profession. For example, many school teachers continue to take graduate courses in order to improve their teaching effectiveness and increase their income. Continuing education is increasingly common, and often legally mandated, in many professions.

At this point, of course, we not know anything about the mix among these various types of employment while enrolled. If a large share of the increase in time spent employed while enrolled is spent in low-skill jobs with little "human capital" enhancement value, the increased employment during the 1970s may have much less significance than if a large share of it was experience in professional or quasiprofessional positions.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper has been to provide a description of how the organization of the young adult years has changed over the past two decades for white women. We have therefore not been concerned with either the determinants or the consequences of these changes. Just to describe them, in fact, has been extremely complicated, and we have even had to omit some major pieces of the picture--the process of leaving the parental household and the process of marital separation and divorce, for example.

Our decision to subdivide the population by education has proved to be a good one. The aggregate trends are the resultant of quite diverse trends experienced by the different education groups, and the educational upgrading which occurred over time has had an important impact on the aggregate trends.

Further, despite its shortcomings, the use of synthetic cohorts from census cross-sections appears to have been a useful way to examine questions of this sort. This suggests that there are other life cycle processes that might usefully be examined in this way. Along these lines, we have begun to examine the process of leaving the parental home using a synthetic cohort approach.

As mentioned previously, we have confined our analysis to the population of nonHispanic white women. We chose to do this, rather than to report on the total population, because the patterns and trends for blacks, Hispanics (particularly Mexican-Americans) and majority white women are so different. We will illuminate these differences in forthcoming papers, starting with an analysis focusing on young black women and how their experiences have varied from the pattern delineated here for whites. This will be the second step in the project begun by this paper: telling the full story of how the organization of the young adult years has changed in the last several years in the United States.

Table 1. Person Years Spent in Various Statuses by Women Between Ages 18-29, for Synthetic Cohorts of White Women, by Education: 1960, 1970, 1980

	<12 Years			12 Years			> 12 Years			Total		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Never Married, Childless												
1. Employed, Enrolled	.09	.09	.10	.21	.21	.32	1.19	1.23	2.09	.42	.60	1.11
2. Employed, Not Enrolled	.86	.86	1.09	2.14	2.08	2.67	1.77	1.78	2.25	1.65	1.70	2.32
3. Not Employed, Enrolled	.26	.26	.18	.34	.37	.31	1.80	1.93	1.87	.70	.98	.98
4. Not Employed, Not Enrolled	.66	.84	1.01	.33	.43	.54	.21	.28	.21	.41	.45	.46
Never Married With Children												
5. Employed, Enrolled	.00	.01	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.00	.00	.01
6. Employed, Not Enrolled	.01	.05	.12	.00	.04	.08	.00	.00	.03	.01	.03	.06
7. Not Employed, Enrolled	.00	.01	.01	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.00	.00	.01
8. Not Employed, Not Enrolled	.01	.08	.27	.00	.02	.07	.00	.00	.01	.00	.03	.07
Ever Married, Childless												
9. Employed, Enrolled	.02	.01	.01	.04	.02	.01	.16	.25	.47	.06	.10	.24
10. Employed, Not Enrolled	.71	.75	1.01	1.29	1.63	2.07	1.29	1.82	1.98	1.10	1.50	1.91
11. Not Employed, Enrolled	.04	.02	.02	.04	.02	.01	.14	.18	.17	.06	.08	.09
12. Not Employed, Not Enrolled	.93	.98	.90	.71	.74	.59	.58	.53	.28	.74	.70	.49
Ever Married, With Children												
13. Employed, Enrolled	03	.02	.03	.03	.01	.01	.06	.09	.17	.04	.04	.09
14. Employed, Not Enrolled	1.50	2.08	2.42	1.33	1.92	2.31	.96	1.14	1.13	1.30	1.66	1.75
15. Not Employed, Enrolled	.12	.05	.05	.09	.03	.02	.14	.16	.17	.11	.08	.10
16. Not Employed, Not Enrolled	6.75	5.89	4.78	5.45	4.48	2.99	3.69	2.61	1.15	5.41	4.04	2.32
Total	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00

Table 2. Distribution of Time Spent in Traditional and NonTraditional Statuses: 1960-1980 (percent)

	1960	1970	1980
Traditional	74.2	65.6	54.7
Intermediate	12.7	17.5	25.2
NonTraditional	13.2	16.8	20.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3. Distribution of Time Spent in Traditional and Nontraditional Statuses, by Education: 1960-1980
(Percent)

	<12			12			>12		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Traditional	78.8	73.6	66.3	74.8	67.5	59.2	67.1	59.4	48.0
Intermediate	6.7	7.0	9.3	12.5	15.3	19.9	20.7	25.4	33.9
NonTraditional	14.4	19.4	24.4	12.8	17.2	20.9	12.2	15.2	17.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4. Change in Number of Years Spent Single: 1960-1980

	1960	1970	1980	Change 1960-1970	Change 1970-1980	Change 1960-1980
<12	1.89	2.20	2.78	.31	.58	.89
12	3.02	3.15	4.01	.13	.86	.99
>12	4.97	5.23	6.48	.26	1.25	1.51
Total	3.19	3.79	5.01	.60	1.22	1.82

Table 5. Change in Number of Years Spent Childless: 1960-1980

				Change		
	1960	1970	1980	1960-1970	1970-1980	1960-1980
<12	3.57	3.83	4.34	.26	.51	.77
12	5.08	5.48	6.53	.40	1.05	1.45
>12	7.12	7.98	9.33	.86	1.35	2.21
Total	5.14	6.12	7.60	.98	1.48	2.46

Table 6. Change in Number of Years Spent Employed: 1960-1980

	1960	1970	1980	Change 1960-1970	Change 1970-1980	Change 1960-1980
<12	3.22	3.88	4.78	.66	.90	1.56
12	5.02	5.90	7.48	.88	1.58	2.46
>12	5.43	6.32	8.12	.89	1.80	2.69
Total	4.58	5.65	7.48	1.07	1.83	2.90

Table 7. Change in Number of Years Spent Enrolled: 1960-1980

	1960	1970	1980	Change 1960-1970	Change 1970-1980	Change 1960-1980
<12	.57	.46	.40	- .11	- .06	- .17
12	.74	.69	.69	- .05	.00	- .05
>12	4.08	3.85	4.96	- .23	+1.11	+ .88
Total	1.39	1.89	2.62	+ .50	+ .73	+1.23

Table 8. Change in Number of Years Spent Childless, By Marital Status: 1960-1980

	Number of Years			Change		
	1960	1970	1980	1960-1970	1970-1980	1960-1980
Single and Childless						
<12	1.87	2.07	2.39	.20	.32	.52
12	3.00	3.07	3.85	.07	.78	.85
>12	4.97	5.20	6.42	.23	1.22	1.45
Total	3.18	3.74	4.87	.56	1.13	1.69
Ever Married and Childless						
<12	1.70	1.76	1.95	.06	.19	.25
12	2.08	2.41	2.68	.33	.27	.60
>12	2.17	2.78	2.91	.61	.13	.74
Total	1.96	2.38	2.73	.42	.35	.76

Table 9. Years Spent Working, by Marital/Family Status: 1960-1980

	Years			Percent		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Single, Time Spent Working						
<12	.96	1.01	1.31	50.8	45.9	47.2
12	2.35	2.33	3.08	77.8	74.0	76.1
>12	2.96	3.01	4.38	59.6	57.6	67.6
Total	2.08	2.33	3.49	65.2	61.5	69.7
Married, Childless Time Spent Working						
<12	.73	.76	1.03	42.9	43.2	52.8
12	1.33	1.65	2.08	63.9	68.5	74.0
>12	1.45	2.07	2.45	66.8	74.5	84.2
Total	1.16	1.60	2.15	59.2	67.2	78.8
Married with Children, Time Spent Working						
<12	1.53	2.10	2.45	18.2	26.1	33.7
12	1.36	1.93	2.31	19.7	30.0	47.8
>12	1.02	1.23	1.30	21.0	30.8	49.6
Total	1.34	1.70	1.87	19.5	29.2	43.9

Table 10. Distribution of Increase in Years Spent Working, by Marital and Family Status; by Decade: 1960-1980

	Single	Ever Married		Total	Total Increase In Person Years
		Childless	with Children		
1960-1970					
<12	7.5	7.5	87.7	100.0	.66
12	-2.2	36.8	65.5	100.0	.88
>12	5.7	70.5	23.9	100.0	.89
Total	22.3	42.7	35.0	100.0	1.07
1970-1980					
<12	32.6	29.3	38.0	100.0	.90
12	48.1	27.6	24.3	100.0	1.58
>12	75.3	20.9	3.8	100.0	1.80
Total	61.7	29.3	9.0	100.0	1.83
1960-1980					
<12	22.3	19.1	58.6	100.0	1.56
12	30.0	30.9	39.1	100.0	2.46
>12	52.6	37.0	10.4	100.0	2.69
Total	48.1	33.7	18.1	100.0	2.90

Table 11. Years Spent Enrolled in College by Women who have more than 12 Years of Education; by Marital/Family Status: 1960-1980

	Years			Percent of Time Enrolled		
	Single	Married, Childless	Married, with Children	Single	Married, Childless	Married, with Children
1960	2.99	.30	.20	60.2	13.8	4.1
1970	3.16	.43	.25	60.4	15.5	6.2
1980	3.98	.64	.34	61.4	22.0	13.0
	Components of Increase					
	Years			Percent of Total Increase		
1960-1970	.17	.13	.05	48.6	37.1	14.3
1970-1980	.82	.21	.09	73.2	18.8	8.1
1960-1980	.99	.34	.14	67.3	23.1	9.5

Table 12. Joint Experience of Working and Going to School

	Total	Education > 12 Years
	Percent of Enrolled Years Spent Working	
1960	37.4	34.3
1970	39.7	41.0
1980	55.0	55.2
	Percent of Working Years Spent Enrolled	
1960	11.4	27.8
1970	13.3	25.0
1980	19.3	33.7

Table 13. Increase in years Spent Working, by Enrollment Status: 1960-1980

	Years			Change		
	1960	1970	1980	1960-1970	1970-1980	1960-1980
Years Working and Enrolled						
Total	.52	.75	1.44	.23	.69	.91
Education > 12	1.40	1.58	2.74	.18	1.16	1.34
Years Working and Not Enrolled						
Total	4.06	4.90	6.04	.84	1.14	1.98
Education > 12	3.63	4.74	5.38	1.11	1.64	2.75
% of Total Increase in Work Time While Enrolled						
Total				21.5	37.7	31.5
Education > 12				14.0	58.6	32.8

FIGURE 1. PERCENT SINGLE BY AGE: 1960,1970,1980

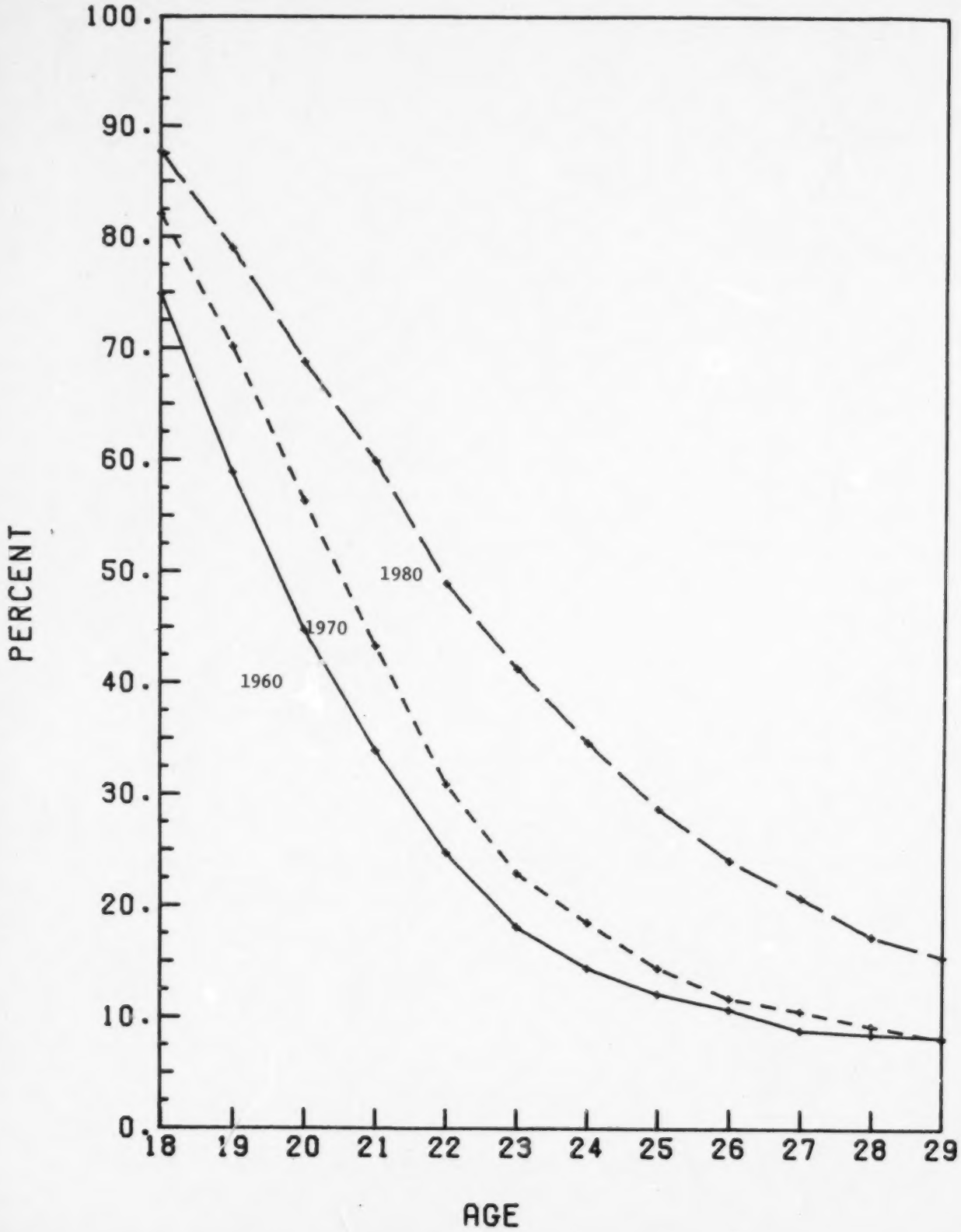


FIGURE 2. PERCENT CHILDLESS BY AGE: 1960, 1970, 1980

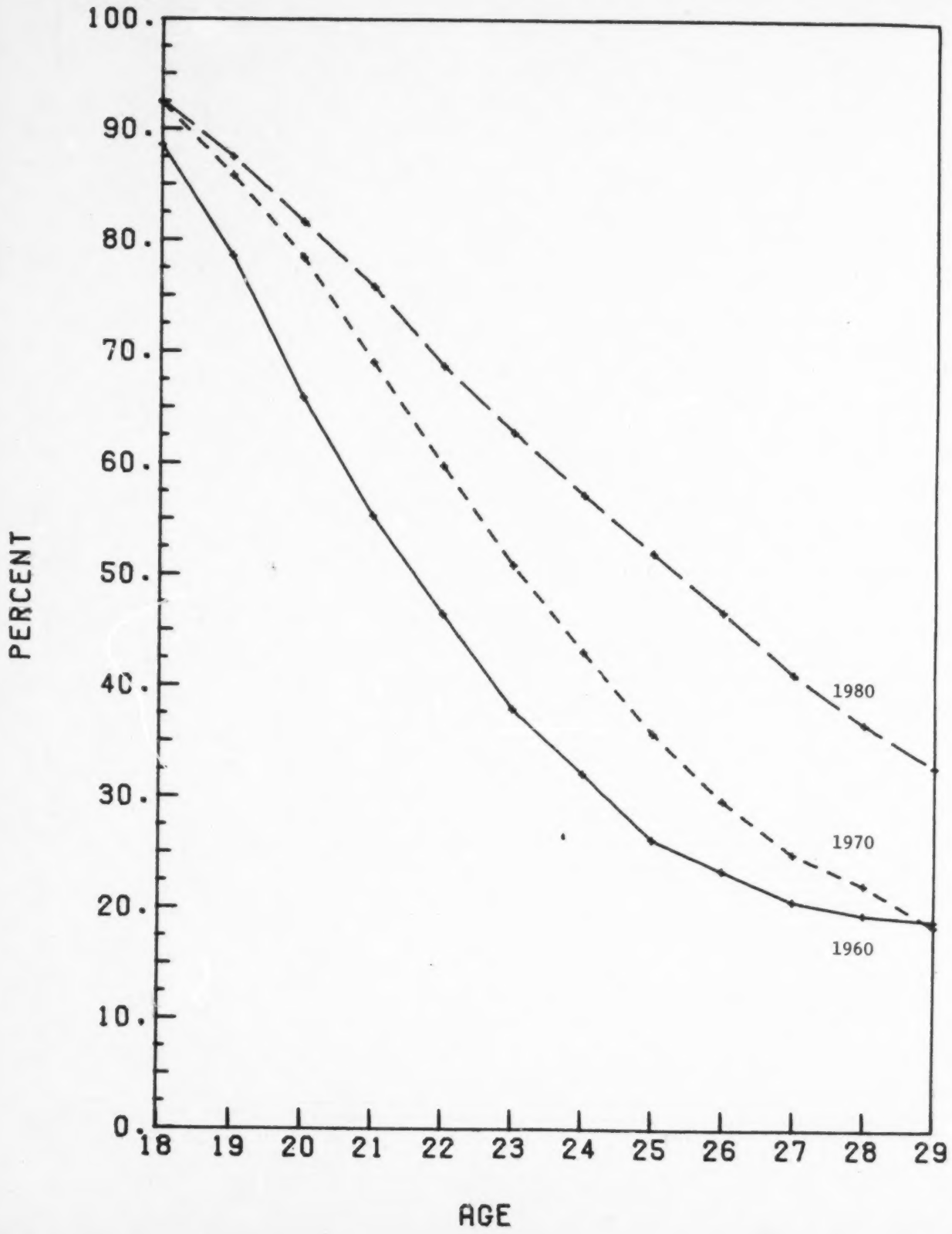


FIGURE 3. PERCENT EMPLOYED BY AGE: 1960,1970,1980

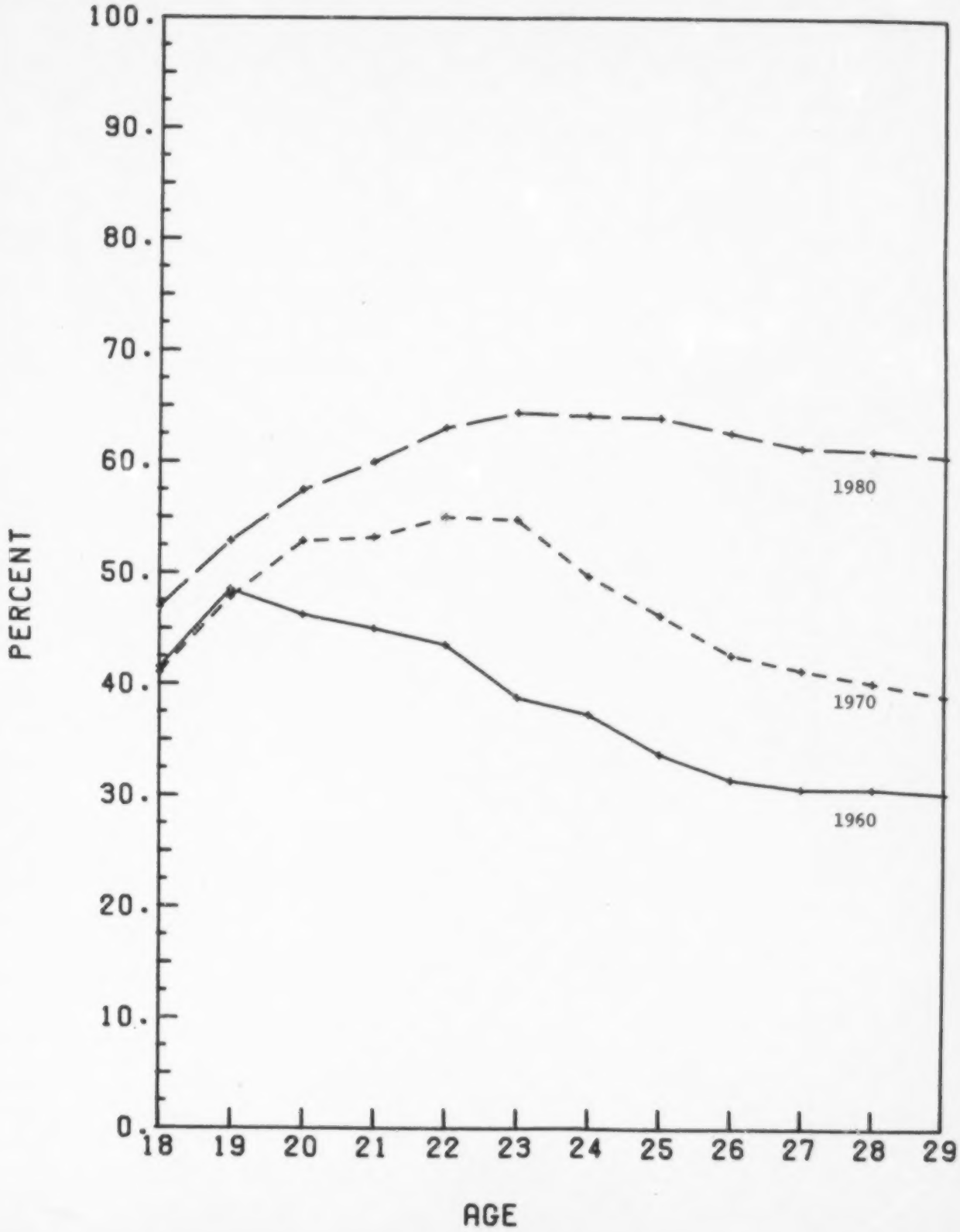
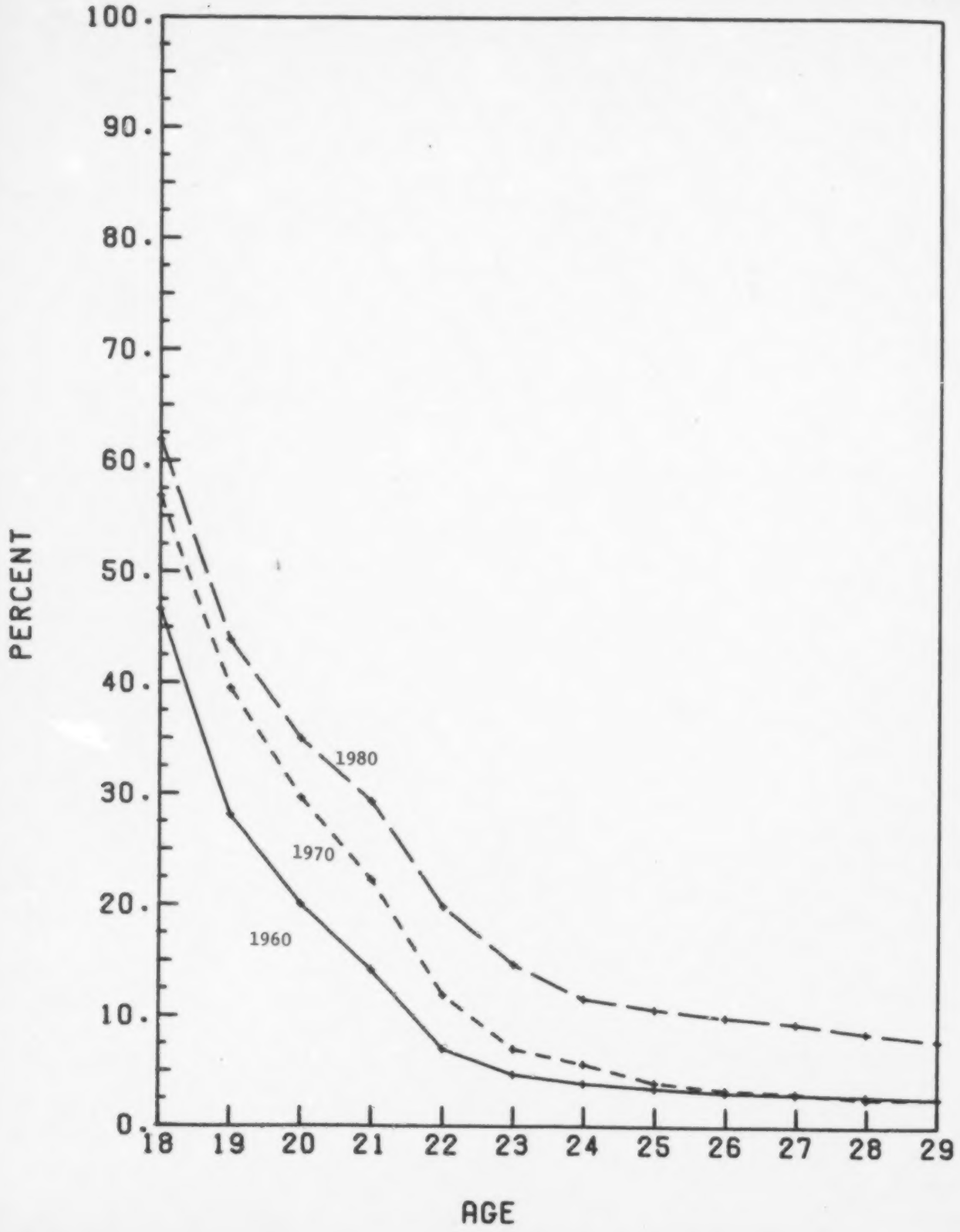


FIGURE 4. PERCENT ENROLLED BY AGE: 1960, 1970, 1980, 19



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"HISPANICITY" AND THE 1980 CENSUS

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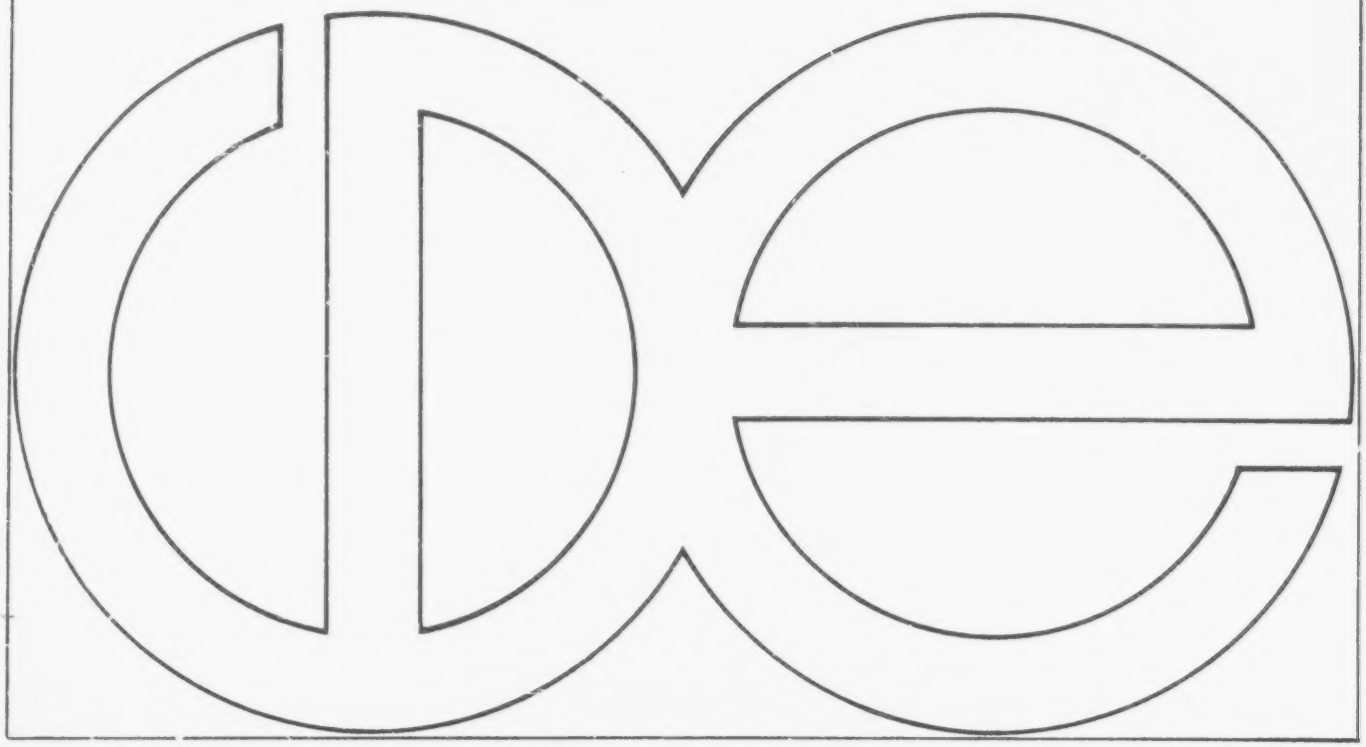

"HISPANICITY" AND THE 1980 CENSUS

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"HISPANICITY" AND THE 1980 CENSUS

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Despite the growing volume of evidence documenting extensive socioeconomic and demographic differentiation among persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban and other Spanish/Hispanic national origin (Jaffe, et al., 1980; Tienda, 1981; Davis, et al., 1983), there is a clear tendency in the popular and, to a lesser extent, the academic literature, to refer to Hispanics as a single ethnic group. While common ancestral ties to Spain indicate an underlying cultural commonality, the diversity among the 20 or so Hispanic national origin groups which span countries from three continents and the Carribbean challenges the conception of Hispanic as a single ethnic group. However, history does not readily explain the persistence of specific national identities, nor the emergence of new generic ones. Although "hard" data to study ethnicity are relatively scarce, the tendency to view Hispanics as a consolidated ethnic group calls for an analysis of Hispanic ethnic labels themselves to ascertain whether the people of Spanish origin comprise "a factitious (ethnic) grouping with rather little relation to real (ethnic) populations" (Petersen, 1983:45).

Accordingly, we assess the coherence of the term Hispanic as an ethnic label by analyzing both the degree of correspondence among six indicators of Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent available in the 1980 Census of

Population. Our specific objectives are: (1) to evaluate the consistency of responses among items designating Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent; (2) to derive a typology representing the coherence of "Hispanicity" based on the coincidence of multiple Spanish origin indicators; (3) to document patterns of variation in demographic and socioeconomic characteristics according to the coherence of self-reported Hispanic identifiers; and (4) to make an evaluative judgement about the adequacy of the 1980 census data for portraying Hispanic ethnic identity.

Such an exercise has both theoretical and practical value. Results we present have practical implications in that they indicate boundaries for the extent and direction of response errors in reporting Spanish/Hispanic origin. Also, our analysis furnishes information about the socioeconomic and political significance of using more or less inclusive definitions of the Hispanic population, including the widely published definition based exclusively on the full enumeration Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent item. The notion that greater numbers equal greater power, or greater demand for social resources (Lowry, 1980) makes the enumeration issue a political one.

The theoretical contributions of our analysis reside in the insights generated about the coherence of "Hispanicity" as a social identity with ethnic connotations. Our classification scheme based on the degree of consistency of the self-reported Hispanic indicators enables us to identify individuals who may have erroneously misreported themselves as being of Spanish/Hispanic origin, and to detect Hispanic ethnics who failed to self-identify themselves in the full enumeration questionnaire. Thus, our analysis is important as an academic exercise and as a measurement exercise to comment on the widespead practice of using census data to study ethnicity.

Before elaborating the analytical framework for the study, we briefly describe the features of the 1980 census which make this source suitable for addressing "Hispanicity" as an ethnic construct.

Identifying Hispanics in the 1980 Census

For both political and statistical reasons (Lowry, 1980; Petersen, 1983) efforts to improve the coverage of the Hispanic origin population led to the use of several items designating Hispanic national origin or ancestry in the 1980 Census of Population and Housing. The most significant change was the inclusion of an item on the short schedule used for the 100 percent enumeration which required all households to indicate whether their members were of Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent.[1] Those responding affirmatively were asked to indicate whether their origin was Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban or other Spanish/Hispanic origin. This item produced the largest census count of Hispanics in the history of the United States, officially enumerated at 14.6 million as of April, 1980 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1982a).

While there is little doubt that the 1980 enumeration of Hispanics represents a substantial improvement over previous years (see Siegel and Passel, 1979), the adequacy of the self-identification item for eliciting "correct" responses from individuals of Spanish and Latin American descent is less evident. This stems partly from the lack of a rigorous definition of "Spanish/Hispanic" origin or descent in the accompanying instructions for this question[2], partly from the vagueness of the race item (Lowry, 1980; Petersen, 1983), and partly from other sources of response error.[3] Question four, designed to tap race or color, defies typological classification, and does not even mention the word race.[4] Given the format of this question, it

is not surprising that 40 percent of all persons who responded affirmatively to the Spanish/Hispanic origin item responded to question four (see note 4) by writing in a Spanish national origin.

The 1980 census long schedule, which was administered to a sample of the U.S. population, includes several additional items which can be used to identify Hispanic ethnics, and to assess the extent of response error in the full enumeration Spanish origin item. These include country of birth (Q. 11), home language (Q. 13), and ancestry (Q. 14). In addition, Spanish surnames were coded using an expanded list of 12,497 names in tandem with geographical criteria (See Passel and Word, 1980). More pertinent for our substantive and theoretical interest in the adequacy of census data for assessing "Hispanicity," these additional items permit inferences about the coherence of an Hispanic ethnicity based on the degree of response consistency among items.

Previous analysis of consistency in reporting ethnic origin/ancestry in the Current Population Survey (Johnson, 1974; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982b), showed that Hispanics were among the most consistent in reporting their origin across multiple items designed to elicit ancestry or descent. Nevertheless, the fact that the consistency of response has varied according to national origin (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982b; 1974; Johnson, 1974), it would appear that there is considerable slippage in the consistency of the ancestry/origin/descent items for Hispanics in the 1980 census. Such inconsistencies vary systematically according to socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, as we demonstrate below.

Conceptual and Methodological Issues

Ethnicity denotes a social identity deriving from group membership based on common race, religion, language, national origin, or some combination of these factors (Lowry, 1980:2). Because there do not exist clearly delineated rules for designating membership in a specific ethnic group, experts disagree about how to draw group boundaries. What is less debated is that ethnicity is a multidimensional construct based both on subjective and objective criteria, as well as individual and communal perceptions of these criteria. Individual attribution of ethnicity is based on recognition and self-perception of the ethnic content of such characteristics as language and surname, as well as ascribed criteria such as national origin and race. Thus, because some characteristics denoting ethnicity can be manipulated by individuals, ethnic identity is both an ascribed and achieved status. Apparently the view that Hispanics constitute a single ethnic group derives from a communal perception that there exist substantial commonalities among Spanish-speaking nationalities, and substantial differences vis-a-vis non-Hispanics.

Typology of Hispanicity

Our classification scheme for assessing the ethnic content of "Hispanicity" builds on the ideas that ethnicity is a multidimensional construct consisting of objective and subjective criteria. First, our multidimensional scheme is based on six identifiers. This allows us to pursue the issue of consistency and coherence of an Hispanic ethnic group by building into the scheme the notion of "degree of ethnicity." We believe that Hispanic social identity is greater among those who reported four to six Hispanic identifiers compared to those who reported two or one. However, except for

the purpose of deriving the typology of "Hispanicity" we do not pursue the issue of patterned variation in socioeconomic characteristics according to degree of ethnicity defined by the number of Spanish/Hispanic identifiers. We do, instead, focus on patterned variation in demographic and socioeconomic characteristics among ambiguous and nonambiguous groupings of Hispanics and non-Hispanics based largely on response consistency.

Second, our scheme differentiates between objective and subjective indicators of "Hispanicity." Birthplace is the clearly objective (ascribed) indicator of Spanish/Hispanic origin while ancestry, self-reported Spanish origin, and the write-in Spanish race item are somewhat more subjective indicators based on how individuals perceive and identify themselves. The latter reflect several specific traits not queried in the census (such as dialect, generational distance of ancestors, strength of ties to the homeland, etc). Spanish home language and Spanish surname are acquired traits which may be changed most easily (either through formal instruction or marriage). However, we hasten to emphasize that the measurement of ethnicity even with the so-called objective indicators, involves a subjective element because the census schedules are self-administered instruments and the Bureau makes no effort to challenge or alter individuals' responses, except for editing responses or for allocating missing data using complex statistical procedures.

Finally, in assessing the consistency of responses, we also distinguish between the generic and nationality-specific applicability of the indicators. Spanish home language and Spanish surname are traits which are not specific to nationality groups, whereas the birthplace, ancestry and to a lesser extent, self-reported Spanish origin are specific for nationality groups. Because the Spanish race write-in item was recoded into a single category by the Bureau, we treat it as a nonspecific indicator. These distinctions are important

because, in making decisions about consistent and inconsistent responses, we give more weight to those which make reference to a specific national orgin group, as explained in greater detail below.

Figure 1 presents the classification scheme we use to evaluate the consistency among Hispanic ethnic responses. We first differentiate between those individuals according to whether they responded affirmatively to the full enumeration Spanish/Hispanic origin item. Subsequently, we determined how many and which of the five Hispanic ethnic items--birthplace, ancestry, Spanish "race", language and surname--were reported by respondents in both subsamples. Records with affirmative responses on the full enumeration Spanish origin item but with no additional Hispanic identifiers were classified as inconsistent respondents and denoted "potentially non-Hispanic" ethnics. The remaining records with affirmative responses on the Spanish/Hispanic origin item and one or more additional Hispanic identifiers were classified as consistent respondents, and denoted nonambiguous Hispanic ethnics.

(Figure 1 About Here)

Among individuals who did not respond affirmatively to the Spanish/Hispanic origin item, those with two or more Hispanic identifiers or who wrote in a Hispanic nationality for race were classified as inconsistent respondents and denoted "potentially Hispanic" respondents. Likewise, those who did not self-identify as Spanish/Hispanic origin, but who had only one generic Hispanic trait which could be acquired by non-Hispanics through marriage or schooling (i.e., Spanish surname or Spanish language), or who only reported either birthplace in a Spanish-speaking country or a single Hispanic

ancestry were classified as consistent respondents. The latter two groups were deemed to be non-Hispanic, despite the report of one specific Hispanic ethnic identifier which is nationality specific.[5]

Data

Our empirical analysis uses data from the 5 percent A sample of the 1980 Public Use Microdata Sample.[6] To reduce computational costs, we extracted one in five of all individuals who responded affirmatively to the self-report Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent item (Question 7; see note 1). In addition, using the full 5 percent sample, we selected all individuals who did not self-identify as being of Spanish/Hispanic origin but who met one or more of the following criteria: (1) born in a Central or South American country (excluding Brazil), or Spain, Puerto Rico, Cuba or the Dominican Republic; (2) first or second ancestry corresponding to the birthplace criteria; (3) Spanish surname (only applied for those living in the Southwest); (4) reported Spanish home language; (5) wrote in a Spanish nationality for the "race or color" item (Question 4; see note 4). These selection criteria represent the most inclusive definition of the population of Hispanic national origin.

"Hispanicity" as an Ethnic Construct

Table 1 reports in some detail the tabulations used to derive the classification scheme presented in Figure 1. First note that among those who responded affirmatively to the Spanish origin item there is a great deal of consistency with other Hispanic identifiers. Only 6 percent of those who identified as Spanish origin did not report any additional Hispanic identifier. We believe these individuals are potentially non-Hispanic and have designated their Hispanic ethnicity as ambiguous. This subgroup is

likely to be partly responsible for the response error among Hispanics (see U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982a).[7]

That Hispanics are quite consistent in reporting their Spanish/Hispanic origin is further confirmed by the number of Hispanic identifiers per respondent. Almost 70% of those who self-reported as Spanish origin claimed also three or more additional Hispanic identifiers. Of the single identifier responses, ancestry was the largest response category accounting for 6 percent of the population who self-identified as Spanish origin, while 2 percent of this group reported Spanish language as their only additional Hispanic identifier. Combined, the remaining single response categories of race, birthplace and surname account for only 1 percent of the total population who self-identified as Spanish origin.

(Table 1 About Here)

Among those who did not self-identify as Spanish origin on the full enumeration item, almost 11 percent were classified as inconsistent respondents and thus were designated as potentially Hispanic respondents. Of those who reported two Hispanic identifiers other than Spanish origin, 78 percent (5.5% of 7%) reported a nationality specific item, that is Hispanic birthplace and/or ancestry. Also, virtually all of those who reported 3 or more Hispanic identifiers other than Spanish origin responded affirmatively either to the birthplace or the ancestry item, or both. The extent of reporting nationality-specific items pursuaded us that these individuals were likely to be Hispanics with ambivalent ethnic identities who misreported their origin either because they objected to the lack of response choices (e.g. no Venezuelan, Argentine, etc. choices), or who deliberately denied their Hispanic origins.

Most of those (90 percent) who claimed not to be of Spanish origin but who had at least one Hispanic identifier were deemed to have responded consistently to the Hispanic items, and were designated as non-ambiguous non-Hispanic respondents. Note that half of these reported language as their only Hispanic trait, and an additional 19 percent reported Spanish surname only. Both of these ethnic traits are easily acquired either through formal instruction or marriage. For instance, many women who marry Hispanics acquire a Spanish surname, but most will not necessarily identify as being of Spanish origin unless they themselves meet the minimal ancestry/descent criteria outlined in the instructions for question 7 of the short form. Twenty percent of the those individuals who did not indicate Hispanic origin in the full enumeration item reported either Hispanic ancestry or birth in a Spanish-speaking country. Since no additional characteristics indicating Hispanic origin or ethnicity appeared for these groups, we determined them definitely to be non-Hispanic, or related to an Hispanic only through distant relatives.

Our typology suggests that a gradient representing the degree of identification with Hispanic ethnicity underlies the broad definition of the Hispanic population based on the presence of a single indicator. Moreover, we expect individuals with consistent Hispanic responses (i.e., those who self-identified as being of Spanish origin and had at least one other Hispanic indicator) to exhibit the highest degree of adherence to a Hispanic ethnicity, while those with consistent non-Hispanic responses (i.e., did not self-identify as being of Spanish origin and had only one Hispanic trait) to exhibit the least adherence to a Hispanic ethnicity. Those classified as inconsistent either because they self-identified as Spanish origin but reported no additional Hispanic indicators, or because they did not

self-identify as Spanish origin but reported several Hispanic identifiers, demonstrate considerable ambiguity about their "Hispanicity." Thus we have denoted them, respectively, potentially non-Hispanic and potentially Hispanic.

A status inconsistency perspective would lead us to predict that Hispanics with ambivalent social identities will be of higher socioeconomic status than those who clearly identify as Hispanic ethnics. Presumably, the ambiguity in their social identity derives from their desire to become recognized by the majority group (non-Hispanic) based on their socioeconomic credentials. In such circumstances, particularly if there exists a strong desire to assimilate, as alleged among Cubans (Nelson and Tienda, 1984), or a recent upward mobility experience, as among the incipient Chicano middle class, efforts to achieve identificational separation from the Hispanic national origin group may not be possible if ascribed traits are involved. On the other hand, for those inconsistent respondents classified as potentially non-Hispanic, we predict lower socioeconomic status compared to those designated potentially Hispanic. Our reasoning is that ethnic ambivalence for them probably reflects response error due to misunderstanding the questions, or misinterpretation of the fixed response categories, an outcome likely to be associated with low education.

In short, we predict that the typology shown in Figure 1 represents a continuum of degree of Hispanic ethnicity which is associated directly with socioeconomic standing. This suggests that as a group, respondents classified as "nonambiguous Hispanic" would be the most ethnic, and have with the lowest socioeconomic status, whereas the "nonambiguous non-Hispanic" should be the least ethnic, and exhibit the highest level of socioeconomic characteristics. Those with inconsistent responses in the lower two cells should rank between these extremes, with the socioeconomic ranking of the potentially

non-Hispanics below that of those classified as potentially Hispanic. We evaluate these predictions in the remainder of the paper and close with the discussion of theoretical and practical implications of our findings.

Demographic Characteristics

Table 2 presents the Hispanic population defined in its most inclusive terms and classified according to the nationality, race, and nativity status of the respondents. Among those who are nonambiguously Hispanic, the nationality composition corresponds to the distribution based on the 1979 March Current Population Survey (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982b), but this is less so of the ambiguous identity groups and the non-Hispanics. One minor deviation is the slightly higher representation of Cubans in our tabulations -- 7.4 percent versus 6.6 percent based on the 1979 CPS. Since this is the smallest of the major national origin groups, the discrepancy is likely to be due to sampling variability. We note with interest, however, that the Census Bureau's t bulations based on the full enumeration showed that 5.5 percent of the population was of Cuban origin based on the self-reported item alone. This result is not surprising since Cubans demonstrate the least identification as Hispanic ethnics (Nelson and Tienda, 1984). Not only did they exhibit the greatest degree of or inconsistency among Hispanic origin and ancestry items, but also exhibit a more pronounced tendency to lose Spanish as a home language compared to Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. This tendency is all the more striking because Cubans are essentially a first generation ethnic group, whereas the majority of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans are native born..

As one might predict, the prevalence of nonspecific Hispanic ethnicity, denoted by the "other" category increases in a linear fashion as the coherence of the Hispanic labels decreases. While only 18 percent of the nonambiguous Hispanics reported other Spanish, 54 percent of the potentially non-Hispanic

group, 63 percent of the ambiguous Hispanics and 94 percent of the nonambiguous non-Hispanics did so. For the two ambiguous ethnic groups, the lack of precision in their national origin is consistent with their ambiguous identity. Note, however, that 38 percent of the potentially non-Hispanics reported Mexican origin. This outcome is consistent with the pattern of response error documented by the Census Bureau (see note 7).

Racially, the Hispanic population is predominantly white, if we assume that those who wrote in Spanish as their racial category are mostly white or light mestizos. This means that at least 93 percent of the population who identified as Spanish origin and had at least one additional Hispanic identifier were of the white race, including mestizo blends. Among those inconsistent respondents classified as potentially non-Hispanic, the distribution by race is notably different, but consistent with the Bureau's analysis indicating that a disproportionate number of blacks (22 percent) classified themselves as Hispanic. The 10 percent Asians are largely Filipinos (7.1 percent), Hawaiians (.9 percent), and other Asian (.8 percent), including Guamanians. This information suggests that the group we identified as potentially non-Hispanic probably misunderstood the intention of the Spanish origin item. Also note that the immigrant composition of the potentially Hispanic group is more similar to that of the nonambiguous Hispanic group, whereas the nativity distributions of the potentially non-Hispanic group is most similar to the nonambiguous non-Hispanic group. Overall, the data in Table 2 seem to support our distinctions representing the degree of coherence of Hispanic identity.

(Table 3 About Here)

Table 3 presents some selected demographic characteristics of our sample population according to the coherence of Hispanic identity. The regional configuration provides further confidence that our distinctions between the ambiguous groups are reasonable. Note that the regional configuration of the potentially Hispanic and nonambiguous Hispanic group are quite similar while the potentially non-Hispanic respondents exhibited a regional distribution somewhere between that of Hispanics and nonambiguous non-Hispanics. Interestingly household size of the two groups of ambiguous respondents was more similar than that of either the nonambiguous Hispanics or non-Hispanics. No clear pattern emerges with respect to the age or gender composition except that the Hispanics, including those whose identity is ambiguous, are younger, on average, than those who are potentially non-Hispanic.

Socioeconomic Characteristics

Table 4 provides the most crucial data for evaluating the status inconsistency thesis with respect to the coherence of Hispanic ethnicity. To recapitulate, we proposed that our classification represents a gradient of degree of Hispanic ethnicity with the nonambiguous Hispanics reporting the most coherent expression of Hispanicity, while those labeled nonambiguous non-Hispanic as the least coherent expression of Hispanic identity. If this is so, we predicted a gradient in the patterning of socioeconomic characteristics whereby the potentially non-Hispanic group would exhibit lower socioeconomic standing than the ambiguous identity Hispanic respondents. We argued earlier that individuals who did not self-identify as being of Spanish/Hispanic origin, but had two or more Hispanic identifiers were likely to be upwardly mobile individuals who were trying to disassociate themselves from their ethnic background that conjures an image of minority status and economic disadvantage.

The data for the educational, occupational, and income levels generally support this expectation. Nonambiguous Hispanic ethnics have the lowest educational attainment, averaging 9.6 years, on average, compared to nonambiguous non-Hispanics who average 12.2 years. Among the inconsistent respondents, those who are potentially non-Hispanic, and who we argued may have misinterpreted the Spanish origin item, had slightly higher educational levels than the nonambiguous Hispanics, but lower than the potentially Hispanic ethnics. For the former, the underlying issue is not one of identity but rather misunderstanding the intention of the question. For the potentially Hispanic group, whose average educational attainment was 11.2 years, ambivalence with respect to Hispanic identity is probably the main source of the inconsistency among response categories. Although this is partly conjecture on our part, theoretical considerations suggest that ambivalence with respect to social identity may take on an ethnic as well as socioeconomic character.

The occupational data further support our prediction. Hispanics whose ethnic identity was unambiguous were least likely to occupy upper white collar positions, whereas the nonambiguous non-Hispanics were most likely to occupy the high status white collar jobs. This generalization holds for both men and women. Moreover for both sexes those classified as potentially non-Hispanic had somewhat lower likelihood than those classified as potentially Hispanic--who may be experiencing dissonance from their ethnic and social standing--to hold white collar jobs. Conversely nonambiguous Hispanics were most likely to occupy lower blue collar positions whereas the nonambiguous non-Hispanics were least likely to occupy such jobs. This generalization holds for both men and women.

The income and poverty status data provides further evidence of systematic socioeconomic variation according to the degree of coherence of Hispanic ethnicity. The group classified as nonambiguous Hispanics averaged $6,400 on an average annual basis compared to $8,200 for those classified as nonambiguous non-Hispanics. Among the two ambivalent ethnic groups, those designated as potentially Hispanic earned somewhat more -- approximately $600 more -- than those inconsistent respondents whom we designated as potentially non-Hispanic. Those who responded affirmatively on the Spanish origin item, including both the consistent and inconsistent respondents, were about equally likely to be below poverty in 1980. However among those who did not self-identify as Spanish/Hispanic origin, the lowest poverty rate corresponded to the nonambiguous non-Hispanic group, whereas the ambiguous Hispanics had a slightly higher poverty rate.

Discussion and Implications

In his essay on "Science and the Politics of Ethnic Enumeration," Ira Lowry alleged that "the Bureau does not know how to conduct a scientific ethnic census" (1980:1). Nevertheless, he conceded that most scientific research dealing with ethnic distinctions relies on census data, where national origin and birthplace characteristics are used as proxies for ethnicity. Only rarely, claims Lowry, do social scientists challenge the absence of a coherent conceptual basis for the ethnic distinctions used by the Bureau. Although we agree in principal with Lowry's allegations, the labels and categories used to elicit ethnic responses in the 1980 Census schedule appear to have worked quite well for the Hispanic population. The availability of several items which tap ethnic traits permits a more extensive consistency analysis than was previously possible. Our results revealed

Hispanics to be quite consistent in reporting characteristics which flag their Hispanic origin or descent. However, this does not automatically establish the existence of an ethnically unified group, or the validity of "Hispanicity" as a culturally meaningful social construct.

The use of an ethnic item in the full enumeration to identify individuals of Spanish/Hispanic origin is truly an improvement over past censuses, and for all practical purposes, conclusions based exclusively on analyses of the full enumeration item should be quite similar if not identical to those based on an "adjusted" definition of the Hispanic population. Such adjustments would entail eliminating individuals we designated "potentially non-Hispanic" and including those identified as "potentially Hispanic" from the population. Because the characteristics of these groups are mutually offsetting, it is unlikely that there will result any perceptible differences in the aggregate characteristics of the "adjusted" population. In a subsequent analysis we will examine this conclusion empirically by comparing the population profiles based on adjusted and unadjusted definitions.

While our analysis of response consistency suggests an underlying coherence of a Hispanic ethnicity, it is not designed to show differences in degree of attachment to a Hispanic identity. We have not systematically pursued this question, but it is a logical extension of our work. An examination of variations in social and demographic characteristics according to the number of Hispanic ethnic traits reported for both the unambiguous and ambiguous Hispanic groups would allow us to comment further on the underlying coherence and possibly even the strength of attachment to an ethnic identity. A further avenue to specify the coherence of "Hispanicity" entails conducting

the consistency analysis according to national origin groups. Both of these refinements would allow us to make more concrete statements about the ethnic content of the generic term "Hispanic."

Before suggesting the cultural viability of a Hispanic ethnicity even as a tentative conclusion, further evidence is needed. First, it would pay off to evaluate alternative definitions of consistency to determine whether the results reported in Tables 1 through 4 are sensitive to the operational classification we devised. Second, we must examine further and compare the pattern of consistency in reporting ethnic traits among the major Hispanic national origin groups--Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans--and if warranted, those of other Hispanic origin. At a minimum, this refinement would allow us to either strengthen or qualify our interpretation of the status inconsistency thesis as it relates to ethnic identity. Based on the analysis by Nelson and Tienda, 1984, we would expect Cubans to be more greatly represented in the ambivalent identity category, but this is somewhat conjectural on our part. Finally, we need to consider whether the number of traits can be used to denote more or less adherence to a Hispanic social identity. At first blush this guideline seems quite reasonable; however, upon more careful reflection one could quibble with the underlying assumption that nationality specific and generic Hispanic traits should be equally weighted. In this analysis, we do not make such an assumption and it is questionable whether it would be justified in attempts at further refinements. We are equally unclear about what assumptions would be warranted to portray degree of ethnicity (as opposed to "coherence" based on consistency criteria) using census data.

The latter issue exposes the basic limitation of census data to which Lowry has alluded in his essay. To be sure, census data can only weakly begin to represent ethnicity as a social identity, for there are no items tapping

directly individuals' degree of identification with various subjective criteria embodied in a specific identity. That social scientists do not agree about how to establish the boundaries does not simplify matters, especially the concern over how to classify the ambivalent "identities." While ethnic self-identification provides significant evidence of an individual's social identity (Lowry, 1980), for this information to be scientifically useful in designating "Hispanicity," it must be elicited in an ethnically neutral way rather than through fixed choice alternatives as was done with the full enumeration item. Furthermore, it is not clear that the number of identifiers or the consistency approach we pursued is the best way to proceed. Finally, ethnic self-identification must be analytically relatable to ascertainable facts about individuals' life history, ancestry, behavior, most of which are not obtained in the decennial censuses or census-like large scale national surveys. For this, researchers must continue to rely on individual researchers to develop operationalizable constructs that adequately portray ethnic identity among specific national origin groups. This task has only recently begun for the Hispanic population.

Notes

1. Question 7 read:

Is this person of Spanish/ Hispanic origin or descent? (*Fill one circle*)	O No (not Spanish/Hispanic) O Yes, Mexican, Mexican-American O Yes, Chicano O Yes, Puerto Rican O Yes, Cuban O Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic

2. The accompanying instructions for this question read as follows:

"A person is of Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent if the person identifies his or her ancestry with one of the listed groups, that is, Mexican, Puerto Rican, etc. Origin or descent (ancestry) may be viewed as the nationality group, the lineage, or country in which the person or person's parents or ancestors were born." (cf. Lowry, 1980:17).

3. The inclusion of an unspecified number of undocumented immigrants does not directly affect the question of response error, as special efforts were made to enumerate all persons residing in the U.S. at the time of the 1980 Census, irrespective of legal status. Although it is possible that there exists a systematic relationship between degree of consistency among the Spanish/Hispanic origin items and legal status, there is no way to ascertain this empirically.

4. Question 4 read:

Is this person-- (*Fill one circle*)	0 White 0 Black or Negro 0 Japanese 0 Chinese 0 Filipino 0 Korean 0 Vietnamese 0 Indian (Amer.) Print Tribe _____	0 Asian Indian 0 Hawaiian 0 Guamanian 0 Samoan 0 Eskimo 0 Aleut 0 Other--Specify

5. Some clarification of these decision rules is in order. Although birthplace is an important indicator of Hispanic ethnicity, among those who did not self-identify as Spanish/Hispanic origin in the full enumeration, it can acquire a special significance. In Latin American countries which received substantial immigrant flows from Europe and the Middle East, there are sharp and persisting patterns of ethnic enclosure. For example, Chile and Venezuela received large volumes of Italian immigrants who have mangaged to retain their mother language and culture-specific traditions. These respondents are not offspring of U.S. citizens born abroad while their parents were on official business because we excluded them. Our decision to classify as consistent respondents those who reported only one Hispanic ancestry among those who did not respond affirmatively to the self-report Spanish ancestry item rests on the ambiguity of the ancestry question itself (Lowry, 1980). In the instances where respondents indicated two Spanish/Hispanic ancestries, but reported no additional Hispanic identifiers, the ancestry item was treated as two items and the observation was classified as inconsistent, thus potentially Hispanic. Likewise, as previously noted, if both an Hispanic ancestry and birthplace were indicated by individuals who failed to self-identify on the full enumeration item, the respondents were classfified as inconsistent, and labeled potentially Hispanic.

6. Although it would be interesting to also consider whether the consistency of reporting Hispanic/Spanish ancestry or descent has changed over time, the lack of comparability between the 1970 and 1980 census particularly with origin/ethnicity indicators makes a parallel validation exercise virtually impossible with the previous census. Therefore, we confined our analysis of the coherence of "Hispanicity" to 1980.

7. A special study by the Census Bureau determined that most of the roughly 200,000 reports of Spanish origin by individuals who were definitely non-Hispanic but so reported were attributed to the Mexican origin response categories. Because these response errors were especially severe in areas of the nation where the Spanish origin population is generally sparse, the Bureau concluded that a misunderstanding of the question was responsible for the response errors. In most cases the erroneous Spanish origin responses resulted when individuals circled the "Amer." portion of the Mexican-American abbreviation.

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Figure 1

CLASSIFICATION OF THE HISPANIC POPULATION BY SPANISH ORIGIN AND CONSISTENCY OF HISPANIC IDENTIFIERS

Ambiguity of Hispanic Ethnicity (Consistency Among One to Five Hispanic Identifiers)	Spanish Origin: Yes	Spanish Origin: No
Nonambiguous (Consistent)	Nonambiguous Hispanic 94%	Nonambiguous Non-Hispanic 89%
Ambiguous (Inconsistent)	Potentially Non-Hispanic 6%	Potentially Hispanic 11%

Table 1

CLASSIFICATION OF THE HISPANIC POPULATION BY SPANISH ORIGIN RESPONSES, NUMBER, AND CONSISTENCY OF HISPANIC IDENTIFIERS
(in percent)

NUMBER OF HISPANIC IDENTIFIERS	RESPONSE TO SPANISH ORIGIN ITEM: Yes, Spanish Origin — Consistent Respondents: Nonambiguous Hispanic	Yes, Spanish Origin — Inconsistent Respondents: Potentially Non-Hispanic	No, Not of Spanish Origin — Inconsistent Respondents: Potentially Hispanic	No, Not of Spanish Origin — Consistent Respondents: Nonambiguous Non-Hispanic
Four or More Identifiers	32.6	--[e]	1.0	--[e]
Three Identifiers	36.3	--	2.3	--
Two Identifiers	16.2	--	7.0	--
Race Only[b]	.2	--	.3	--
Birthplace Only	.2	--	--[d]	3.5
Ancestry Only[c]	6.0	--	--	16.9
Surname Only	.6	--	--	18.9
Language Only	1.9	--	--	50.2
No Identifiers	--[d]	6.0	--	--[f]
Total	100.0		100.0	
(N)	(102945)		(101773)	

Source: 1980 PUMS 5% A File. 1% sample of affirmative respondents to Spanish origin item; 5% sample of negative respondents to Spanish origin item who also had at least one additional Hispanic identifier.

[a]Birthplace in Central or South American country or Spain; Ancestry 1 and/or Ancestry 2 from Latin America and/or Spain; Spanish surname; Spanish home language; Spanish write-in for race item.

[b]Spanish write-in for race item.

[c]Either Ancestry 1 or Ancestry 2, not both, are counted as one identifier.

[d]Categories defined as inconsistent.

[e]Categories defined as consistent.

[f]Technically includes the remainder of the population excluded from the analysis, that is, individuals who neither reported Spanish origin, nor responded affirmatively to any of the Spanish/Hispanic identifiers.

Table 2

ASCRIBED CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUALS WITH ONE OR MORE HISPANIC IDENTIFIERS BY COHERENCE OF HISPANIC IDENTITY
(in percent)

Characteristics	Coherence of Hispanic Identity			
	Nonambiguous Hispanic	Potentially Non-Hispanic	Potentially Hispanic	Nonambiguous Non-Hispanic
National Origin				
Mexican	59.8	38.3	27.7	3.7
Puerto Rican	14.4	5.1	5.1	1.3
Cuban	7.4	2.1	4.0	.6
Other[a]	18.4	54.5	63.2	94.4
Dominican	(1.8)[b]	(.0)	(1.4)	(.1)
South American	(4.5)	(.0)	(12.0)	(1.9)
Central American	(3.1)	(.0)	(12.2)	(1.5)
Spaniard	(.8)	(.0)	(2.7)	(.6)
Other	(6.7)	(.0)	(19.8)	(13.1)
Unknown	(1.5)	(54.5)	(15.3)	(77.2)
Race				
White	58.2	63.0	69.5	78.6
Black	1.4	21.8	9.5	13.0
Native American	.5	2.4	2.6	2.3
Asian	.6	10.2	3.0	5.8
Other-"Spanish"	35.2	.0	14.2	.0
Other	4.2	2.6	1.2	.3
Nativity				
Native	52.8	81.3	60.0	87.8
Immigrant	47.2	18.7	40.0	12.2
(N)	(96806)	(6139)	(10678)	(91095)

Source: 1980 PUMS 5% A File. 1% sample of affirmative respondents to Spanish origin item; 5% sample of negative respondents to Spanish origin item who also had at least one additional Hispanic identifier.

[a]Derived from birth and ancestry except where only generic identifiers (i.e., language, surname, or Spanish race) were reported. A few of those who self-identified as "Other" but reported Mexican, Puerto Rican, or Cuban birth and/or ancestry were added into original totals. Thus the totals are slightly higher than those derived from the 100% Spanish origin item alone.

[b]The numbers in parentheses are the total of "Other."

Table 3

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUALS WITH ONE OR MORE HISPANIC IDENTIFIERS BY COHERENCE OF HISPANIC IDENTITY
(Means or Percents)

	Coherence of Hispanic Identity			
Characteristics	Nonambiguous Hispanic	Potentially Non-Hispanic	Potentially Hispanic	Nonambiguous Non-Hispanic
Age	34.5	37.0	35.5	34.9
Gender				
Male	48.8	47.5	43.9	42.9
Female	51.2	52.5	56.1	57.1
Region				
North East	18.4	18.3	19.7	14.3
South East	8.8	20.9	9.6	13.4
South West	61.0	22.9	59.8	45.1
Rest	11.9	37.9	11.0	27.3
Household Size	4.2	3.6	3.7	3.4
(N)	(96806)	(6139)	(10678)	(91095)

Source: 1980 PUMS 5% A File. 1% sample of affirmative respondents to Spanish origin item; 5% sample of negative respondents to Spanish origin item who also had at least one additional Hispanic identifier.

Table 4

SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUALS WITH ONE OR MORE HISPANIC IDENTIFIERS BY COHERENCE OF HISPANIC IDENTITY
(Means or Percents)

Characteristics	Coherence of Hispanic Identity: Nonambiguous Hispanic	Potentially Non-Hispanic	Potentially Hispanic	Nonambiguous Non-Hispanic
Highest Grade Completed	9.6	10.4	11.2	12.2
Labor Force Participation Rate				
Men	78.1	69.3	73.0	75.0
Women	49.2	50.7	51.7	56.8
Occupation				
Men				
Upper White Collar	11.7	14.7	20.0	25.8
Lower White Collar	15.8	16.8	21.2	22.6
Upper Blue Collar	15.5	14.5	14.4	14.5
Lower Blue Collar	57.0	54.0	44.5	37.2
Women				
Upper White Collar	11.2	14.0	17.7	22.1
Lower White Collar	37.6	39.3	44.1	46.9
Upper Blue Collar	.7	.8	.7	.9
Lower Blue Collar	50.5	45.9	37.5	30.2
Poverty Status				
0 to .99	20.5	20.3	16.8	11.7
1.00 to 1.49	13.8	11.5	11.2	8.7
1.50 to 1.99	13.3	11.3	11.8	9.4
2.00 + over	52.4	56.9	60.2	70.2
Income	6,439	6,645	7,226	8,169
(N)	(96806)	(6139)	(10678)	(91095)

Source: 1980 PUMS 5% A File. 1% sample of affirmative respondents to Spanish origin item; 5% sample negative respondents to Spanish origin item who also had at least one additional Hispanic identifier.